

1965

A Phonetic Study of the French Spoken in Reserve, St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana.

Shirley Florence klibert Nelson

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14

A PHONETIC STUDY OF THE FRENCH SPOKEN
IN RESERVE, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PARISH, LOUISIANA

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Linguistics

by
Shirley Florence Klibert Nelson
B.A., Louisiana State University, 1940
August, 1965

UMI Number: EP69934

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgement	iv
Abstract	vi
Introduction	viii
Chapter I	
Texts	1
Chapter II	
Translation of Texts	24
Chapter III	
Phonetic Analysis	48
Vowels	48
Vowel nasalization	53
Semi-vowels	55
Consonants	55
Syllabication	57
Sounds in combination	
Breath-groups	57
Accents and stress group	57
Unstable [ə]	52
Union of consonants and vowels	
Linking	57
Liaison	57

	Page
Union of two consonants	
Assimilation	58
Loss of a consonant	59
Union of two vowels	
Elision	59
Loss of a vowel	60
Chapter IV	
Conclusion	61
Selected Bibliography	66
Appendix	67
Vita.	72
Tapes	
Two reels.	Library Listening Room

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A study of this nature could never be accomplished without the aid, direct and indirect, of many people. For the courage to attempt it, I am indebted to Dr. Elliott Healy, whose enthusiasm for this field of inquiry and whose realistic guidance could be rewarded only by the successful execution of this thesis.

I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to Professor Wyatt Pickens for scrupulously checking my material, and most specifically for his timely, witty, and pithy comments which made this labor a joy; to Dr. John Guilbeau for his practical suggestions and advice; to Dr. Claude Shaver for his amiable and considerate encouragement, but also for his concrete assistance in the solution of knotty problems of analysis; to Dr. William Van Riper for his friendly attention, good-humored and valuable suggestions; to Dr. John Thompson for obligingly and generously allowing the use of department equipment; to Larry Derouen, Director of the Foreign Language Laboratory, for his good-will, accommodation, and substantial technical assistance, without which I could have collected no corpus; to Mrs. Mary Metz for cheerfully providing the answers to endless

questions; to my informants for their genuine desire to be of service; to my mother, Mrs. Raoul Klibert, for her inspired field work in the selection of informants and her orderly arrangement of interviews; to my father, Raoul Klibert, for allowing the frequent disruption of his household; and, of course, to my husband, Dale, and to my children, Dale, Jr., Andrea, Raoul, Craig, Cynthia, and Bruce, for lovingly and graciously sacrificing a year of normal living.

To these, my underwriters, I made my covenant.
C'en est fait.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to record a descriptive analysis of the French spoken in Reserve, a town located in St. John the Baptist Parish, approximately thirty miles above New Orleans on the east bank of the Mississippi River. The body of material used for this study, recorded on magnetic tape, consists of the edited texts of tales, personal experiences, and reminiscences of six informants who represent the last of the native speakers of French in an area where French was once the only language spoken. A phonetic transcription of this material, an English translation, a phonetic analysis, as well as a brief biography of each informant are included in this study. The edited texts on tape are an integral part of this thesis, since they furnish historical evidence of the French spoken in Reserve by native speakers. They also, together with the transcription and the phonetic analysis, furnish evidence that the French spoken in Reserve is a regional dialect in which the trilled r is used in preference to the velar r, or r grasseyé, of Standard French. The phonology of this dialect varies from Standard French in the adoption of seven

English sounds, the lack of consistent discrimination between similar nasal vowels, the generation of nasal vowels, the partial assimilation of the negative element, the loss of final consonants, and the displacement of syllabic boundaries in certain environments.

INTRODUCTION

Reserve is a rural-industrial town located on the east bank of the Mississippi River, approximately thirty-five miles above New Orleans. Once an agricultural community with rice, then sugar cane and vegetables as principal crops, it early became dependent upon a sugar refinery for economic survival. In recent years both light and heavy industry, attracted to the area by its provident location on the Mississippi River, have revitalized the economy. The 1960 census records a population of 5,297.

Reserve is one of the early settlements in a parish which has been called La Côte des Allemands, Creole Parish, Côte d'Or, but more often German Coast,¹ the area having been originally settled and inhabited (about 1721) by Germans and their descendants.

Priest-missionaries were eventually sent out to minister to the colonists. Civil, as well as ecclesiastical, power was vested in them to make control of the colonies less troublesome. These missionaries

¹Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jean M. Eyraud and Donald Millet (Editors), A History of St. John the Baptist Parish with Biographical Sketches. (Marrero, Louisiana: The Hope Haven Press, 1939), Pp. 9-13; 15-60.

e as in été
ɛ as in belle
ẽ as in train
æ as in bat (English)
a as in rat
ɑ as in bas
ã as in banc
o as in chaud
ɔ as in port
ɔ̃ as in sont
u as in vous
U as in look (English)
y as in pu
ø as in peu
ə as in le
œ as in soeur
œ̃ as in lundi
j as in pied
ɥ as in lui
w as in oui
p as in pont
b as in bateau
t as in table
θ as in thing (English)
d as in donner
k as in conte
g as in garder

f as in folle
v as in veux
s as in sel
z as in zèle
ʃ as in chaire
ʒ as in je
m as in ma
n as in non
ɲ as in signe
ŋ as in thing (English)
l as in la
r as in rose
t^s as in chain (English)
d^z as in judge (English)

In the phonetic transcription the breath groups are separated by periods. Within the breath groups the stress groups are separated by commas, and the following accentuation is indicated:

1. Primary stress (') meaning group or word stress is used to indicate (a) the low falling pitch and lengthening of the final and accented syllable of the breath group. This mark is not used unless the syllable receiving the "beat" (accent) is followed by relatively unaccented appendages like là, tu sais.
2. Emphatic stress (") meaning word stress is indicated where the symbol is placed in the

transcription before the stressed syllable of the word receiving the emphasized idea. It can occur in a word other than the final one in the breath group. The normally accented syllable does not weaken, but a stronger accent is given to the other word. In an accented word of more than one syllable, the emphatic stress can sometimes occur on all syllables (according to the speaker's choice). Sometimes the accented syllable is displaced and the normal accent weakens and another syllable becomes stronger: ["de vo "re] and ["d:e vo 're]. A breath group in this transcription does not necessarily follow the syntactic structure of what is normally understood to be a "literary" sentence. It is rather intended to indicate the point at which the speaker pauses after having uttered a meaningful syllable or combination of meaningful syllables. The transcription is intended to record the spoken language and no attempt has been made to equate it to the written language. It is interesting to note that while the intonation pattern (consisting of breath groups with their stress groups, primary and emphatic stress) of this dialect follows the pattern of Standard French, the stress groups are composed of fewer syllables than one can expect from a native Frenchman. After a vowel or consonant (:) indicates lengthening of that sound.

In Chapter I the texts are assigned Roman numerals corresponding to the Roman numerals used in

the Appendix to identify the informants. Where more than one example of the same informant's speech exists, capital letters were added to the Roman numerals. The entire texts of the samples on tape are transcribed in this chapter. Spaces between symbols and groups of symbols indicate lexical word divisions (boundaries).

Chapter II is devoted to the translation of the texts, numbered to correspond with the transcribed texts.

In Chapter III an analysis of the dialect with examples from the transcribed texts indicates only those features of the dialect which deviate from the Standard French. The omissions include discussion of final consonants, breath groups, accents and stress groups, emphatic stress, lengthening (since its occurrence is accidental and not a feature of the dialect), and those elements of liaison, linking, elision, and the use of the unstable [ə] which correspond with Standard French.

Quotation marks are used in the translation of the texts at the beginning and at the end of each separate sample of each informant's speech. Direct quotations within the samples are enclosed in single quotation marks.

Chapter IV is a summary and conclusion.

Throughout this thesis the phonetic symbols are enclosed in brackets, [], and the graphemes are enclosed within a pair of diagonal lines, //.

CHAPTER I

TEXTS

I

[ǝ mustaʃ]

[o t^sy se, s k yn...t^sit fij, m a di, l ɔtrə
'žur la? i di, ǎbrase ǎn ɔm, sǎ musta:ʃ, s e kɔm
mǔže ǎn ɔf sǎ sɛl. ty krwa 'sa twa? ǎ? twa osi?
alɔr, ɛl ave rezǔ. t^sy pa, mǔ must^sIk.¹]

I B

[la ta:j də la gɛp]

[kǔmǎ s ete, s e mǔ vjɔ grǎpær lasǎn, ki m ave
rakǔte, sa, pukwa la gɛp, ave, ǎn taj, kɔm sa. alɔr,
la gɛp, e l must^sik, ave ete a la ʃas,...a la pɛʃ,...
e...a tu mǎmǎ, i lǎve ǎ pwasǔ,...alɔr, ɛ...la gɛp d^zi,
to pwasǔ, ɛl e gro. li d^zi wi, dǎnje mo tra'pe la, l e
gro kɔm mo žǔm!²tɛlmǎ ɛl a...la 'gɛp la, a ri, ɛl a
prese sa,...e s e pukwa, sa taj, e reste pt^sit, kɔm
'sa t^sy vwa.]

¹There was a mosquito in the room.

²The underlined portion is in Negro French, Creole patois.

I C

[la lã:g]

[e s ete ã rwa, il ave d^zi a sã,...s ete ã rwa, kom pær ba'dwal la, il ærseve, boku d kãpani. alor, e...ã žur, i d^zi a sa...a sã met, i d^zi, ekut. i d^zi, dãmẽ, žæ vø ræsøvwar, la kãpani, me, pa d la ra'kaj nã, de d^zignitær. e žæ vø kætý nu dãn, la meljær řoz, o mãn, pu d^zine. l ædIvid^zy, a...ekute ã momã, il a di, senjær, voz ord, særã, ekute. ãfẽ, sa ete læ rwa, d^zize ãt lqi mēm, sa i va nu "d:ãne? sa ete, i s e py, okype d la kqisIn, mId^zi a arive, i l ãaple, pu d^zine, i ã tu arive, i sã mi, otur d la tab, ã plato, yn bæl lãn. t^sy suvjẽ, komã ãn ave, de bæl lãn? "pærsãn a ply, ožUrdqi...alor, e...lqi, i regard sa, m:..., sa sãte bã, t^sy se. m:....d la vãn kqisã... e i pãse, ãt lqi mēm, me sa il e vny nu "d:ãne, pu la meljær řoz, o "m:ãn. so, sa ete, kom sa, ø, iz ã... iz ã "netwaje læ pla, s ete bã, s ete,...alor, yn smãn U dø apre, æn ot "gæŋ, dæve arive. il a aple, ãkor, sã kuk, i lqi d^zi, ekut. l otræ žur, ž t e dãmãde, pu la møljær lãn, æ...řoz o mãn, t^sy nuz a dãne. e s e dãmẽ, ž ore ãkor la kãpani, dãmẽ, ž vø k t^sy m dãn, la ply movæz řoz. læ kqizinje, n ete pa, ãbarase, il a d^zi senjær, voz ord, særãt, egzekte. la, i d^zi ãt lqi mēm, me sa i va vnir, nu "d:ãne, a præsã? l otræ žur, s ete yn lãn, sa i va nu done, dãmẽ? ãfẽ, læ tã ariv, y"n ot bæl lãn. ã d^zire, žæ vwa la 'lãn la. ã gro

morso, d aj, pike la dā, ō tru, pu pān la 'lān la, t^sy
 se komā ō "pāde sa, pu netwaje. alor, sa ete kōm sa,
 kāt lez ēnvite, sō part^si, e la, i va dā la ōm, dā sō
 kUk, i di, ekut, ty se, t^sy m a žwe,...ō vilē "tu:r la
 twa. e m e d^zi, e pUkwa senjær? i d^zi l otre žUr, ž ave
 d la cōpaŋi, ž t e dmāde la mājær ōž, ty nu dōne yn lān.
 me, i di, s s kē lez ēvite, lō pa "d:evore? la i d^zi
 wi, iz ō s"me sa. bē i d^zi, sa dēve et, la meljær ōž.
 i di wi, me s e pa dez afær kom sa, ž vule, set yn...
 ply fē. alor, sa ete kom sa,...i d^zi, pukwa t^sy m a fe
 sa? s et ō sal "tUr t^sy m a žwe la. i di, nō senjær.
 s et ō "b:kē "bo "tur. i di, suvone vu d yn ōž. la
 lōn, la lōn, s e la "meljær ōz, o mōn, e a mēm tā, la
 "ply "m:ovez. i d^zi,kō"mō t^sy pō "d^zir sa? s bjē,
 i d^zi seŋær, s e tU sēlō, la manjær, vu vu l āplwaje.
 s e 'vre ē? va tužur, krit^sike l mōn, a si sa, ēn movez
 lān. bjē rarmā, ēn bavardōz, d^zi la veri'te nō. mē
 e va parle, pUr le movez lān.]

II A

[le bal]

[kāt ān ete, tu vēny grān, ōn ave kat grān fij.
 e ōn ale o bal. le bal, n ete pa bjē lwē, dā ōe nu.
 me...ā fēze dē žoli rob parske ma māmā etet^s yn mō"d^zis.
 e ān ale o bal, e ān ete ōaperōne, par not papa, e not
 mamā. e ān ale o bal, e ā dāse avek "tu le garsō. ān
 a dāse, avek tu le garsō, ki ete dā la sal, me ān ale

pa, avək de gar'sǫ o bal nǫ. i j ave, de "blǫ, ki ǵwe
 la myzik. i j ave de sē pjær, ki ǵwe la myzik. s ete
 ē strīŋ bæn, e ǵoli myzik. ān ale o bal, ā dāse tut
 la nqi, me ān ale, kē lē samdi swar. e tut la sēmen,
 i fale rēste āndā. trava'je, 'kud. ān ete tuǵur okype.
 me ā rodaje³pa, lē ǵēmē. ā kurse³pa, lē ǵēmē. ān ete
 tuǵur ādā, kāt lē solēj sē kuŋe, kē si ān ale ē pt^si pø,
 nuz aswar su la lve, syr ē bā, avā k i fēze nwar, ān
 ete tu ādā. kāt ān ave ēn amurø, i rēturne d^zy bal,
 avək "nu. me sa tēne pa, par lē 'bra nǫ, lē garsǫ. sa
 marŋe. sa marŋe. kēlkē fwa sē ǵēn om vēne, sa marŋe
 avək nu, me sa tēne pa mēm lē bra.]

II B

[e bjē, nuz etjǫ, sē sēr dǫ la mezǫ, e ān ave
 yn plas, pur rēsəvwar lez amurø. e ān ete tu asiz dā
 la mezǫ, āsam, dā la mēm ǵam. me i j ave pa dē kut^size,
 parsē ān ave "ǫt. alor le garsǫ parte. me ān ave pa
 drwa mēm, ā ale syr la galri, pur...pur...kāt lē garsǫ
 parti. i fale, k ā rēs, a la port. e bjē, ān ave dē
 bōIfren, i y dē ǵēn om, ki fēze amurø dē nu, i j a døz
 ā, kēk fwa, avā k ā sē marje. me ān ete pa ā gāŋe. me
 kāt ān ale o bal, ā dāse avək tu, s ete pa avək lē, lē
 gar'sǫ nǫ. avək tu le garsǫ. kat mēm ān ave ēn amurø,
 ā dāse avək tu le garsǫ.

³patois, "run the road."

II C

[le grā bal]

[kāt ž ete ž n,tu pt^sit pt^sit fij, žn ale, žn
ale vwa:r le bal. e...ž ave yn sœ:r ki dōse. e s ete
la mejœ:r dōsœ:z, dœ la fa'mi:j sa. e...sa dōse, kā
ž ete žœn, la polka militœ:r! s etet^s yn žoli dōs, me
...œ...la sœl de sœ:r, ki save dōse sa. e...ž dōse le
dōs kare, le lāsje. s ž fœze kōm yn řen, ek le bra, ž
eřžœ dœ kavalje, dœ dam. œ... i j ave yn ot, s etet^s
yn kad'ril kōn aple sa. me lœ mōn sote, pu sœt kad'ril
la. sa fœze kōm yn řen, e sa kure. e...i ave yn dōs,
k žn aple lœ lāsje. lœ lāsje...l...la...lœ lāsje, la
kad'ril...la "varjete. la varjete, s etet^s yn dās kare,
me lœ žœn œm laře sa dam, e...i dōse avœk tu lez ot
dœmwazœl, tut o tur. e i j ave yn dās, ki s aple la
grān vals. la grān vals, s etet^s yn řen,...tu le
œmwazœl, sœ tœne a la mē, e le garsž, sœ mete o miljø,
o miljø...o miljø, d^zy rž...e...le garsž, dōse avœk le
œmwazœl, tœne le œmwazœl, yn par yn, sa dōse, žyskœ sa
ariv a la dœrnjœ:r. me...e...i ave ē "ta d garsž.
alœrs tu le garsž fœze sa. řak garsž ave sa dam, me
sa dōse,...sa eřžœ d dam. s ete la grād vals. e i
ave la mazyrka. žn a dōse sa, s ete žoli sa. la maz...
e la "vals...ž valse bjē...me le vals, s ete pa, kōm
le vals ožUr'd^zyi nž. sa 'sœt ožUrđi...me s ete, s k
žn aple de "vals. e žn ale o bal, ž rœste ž k œ dœz
œ:r, d^zy matē. ž fœze, de piknik. le d^zimž apremid^zi,

syr le {ɛn...ɔn ave yn...yn akordeɔ, e yn myzik a buʃ,
ki ʒwe pur nu. s e tu s k ɔn ave.]

II D

[le ʃāsɔ e le ʒø]

[kɑ ʒ ete pət^sit,...kɑ ʒ ete pət^sit, ɔ fəze de
piknik. e dɑ le piknik ɔ fəze de dɔs rɑ. tu le...
pt^si garsɔ, e le pt^sit fi:j, tɑne la mɛ, e ɔ ʃɑte. ɑ
ʃɑte,...me ʒ e kɔne pa l æ:r, dɑ la ʃɑsɑ nɔ. me ʒə se
ɔ ʃɑte,...ə...ʒə məzyr d^zy rybɑ. e...alɔr...le,...lə
garsɔ d^zize, ʒə məzyr dy rybɑ, e la dmwazɛl...rɛpɔde,
kɔ,jɛ dɑ ja:rd? i dize, kat jɑrd, sɛ 'jɑrd, kɛlkə fwa.
e... ɔ d^zize, pur ki? i d^zi, pur madmwazɛl ɛ tɛl, ɑ
nɔme lə nɔ, d la...la...la...la pt^sit fi:j. e...ɔ ʒwe
...ɔ ʒwe avɛk ɑ muʃwa:r. ɔ sə mete tu dɑz ɑ rɔ, e le
...le...kɑt ɔn ete ʒɑn,...e le garsɔ pase, ɔn ærjær dɑ
not ɑo, e sa ʒete lə muʃwa:r par tær. alɔr, la u lə
muʃwa: tɔmbe, s ete la fi:j, kə le garsɔ ɔbrase. e...
ɔ ʒwe osi, ʒə tɔm dɑz ɑ pɥi. s et^s yn "ɔt ʃɑsɑ sa.
ʒə tɔm dɑz ɛ pɥi. kɔmjɛ dɑ pje? sɛ pje, U ɔrwa pje...
alɔr, ɔ dɛmɑde pu ki, lə garsɔ nɔme la 'fi:j, la fi:j.
la fi:j, ki s ete, alɔr, il ɔbrase la fi:j.]

II E

[kɔpær lapɛ e kɔpær buki]

ɔ nu rakɔte de kɔt, kɑ ɑn ete pət^si. ɔ nu rakɔte de
kɔt, me le kɔt, s etet ɔ "kɔŋgo, ɔ "nɛg, "kreol. e s

ete pur ã lapẽ, e yn bst kãn aple buki. e sa fêze, de rekol ãsãm. e lã lapẽ ete ply malẽ kã l ot. i dãmãde a sã kamarad, si sa fêze de...pom dã tãr, i dãmãde a sã kamarad, k e s kã ty vø? ty vø prã la rekol ã l ær, u sa ki e dã la tãr? e l ot rãpõde, me žã prãndre ã l ær. e lã lapẽ ave "tu le pom dã tãr, e l ot ave tu lez erb. le ljã...alor, lã lãnme, i vane, i d^zize a sã kamarad,... e...ã va fãr dez ariko:. i d^zi k e s kã ty "vø dã lez ariko? e...l...l ot, sã kamarad luj rãpõde, e, bjẽ, sãt fwa isi, žã vø prãn ãm ba. alor, buki ave...tu...le... rasin, e lã lapẽ ave tu le ariko. alor, ilz ã fe de' mlã ã žur. e...lã...lã kãpær lapẽ a dãmãde a lã kãpær buki, kã... k e s k il "vule dã le mlã, s il vule sã ki ete su d la tãr, u pardesy. lã buki a d^zi, me wi a prezã t^sy va pa mã prãn. žã se s kã žã vø, žã vø ãn su. alor, il a y kã le rasin. e lã lapẽ a y tu le mlã. alor, tu le rekol, k iz ã...k i fêze, s ete kom sa. me...lã...lã lapẽ sote avẽk lã kwa, e lot ave rjẽ d^zy tu.]

II F

[le řãsã e le žø]

[e bjẽ, ã řãte pur tu le pt^sit fi:j sã mete ã rã. e i j a yn, ki ete mãte syr yn řez, u yn kas, e la pt^sit fi:j řãte. d^zø m a fe pUr vole, lese mwa m ãn ale. e tu le pt^sit fi:j, fêze kom yn dãs rãn, e sa řãte. e... řfẽ, nu tã tã'nãt pt^sit wazo. ã tã dãnãra, de bãbã, e de kãd^zi. sa s ete yn řã'sã sa.]

[flik o flok]

[a...wi...e ã {ãte yn {ãsã, s ete, flik o flok,⁴
t^sy a kase tã vør. e t^sy nã bwara ply. e lez ot t^sit
fi:j rãpãde, žã kasre ply de vør, me žã bware, dã la
kalot, dã mã {apo. s et^s yn ot {ã'ã sa.]

II G

[e...e...kãt ã...e...e...kãt ãn ete pãt^sit, i j
ave d^zy mãn, ki kraje dã le žãbi. e...i j ave d ot, iz
ave pør. e i j ave d^zy mãn, ki mete, ki ataše de fissel,
syr lær galri, e syr yn barjer, e i j ave kek {oz pu fär
ã brqi. sa fãze ã brqi, dã læ fil. alor, kã iz ete,
tu asiz dã la mæzã, ã žwe avæk se 'fil la. sæ mãn ave
pør. i d^zize, k s ete, de žãbi.]

[fifole]

[lã mãn...lã mãn, i j ave d^zy mãn ki ave pør:r. iz
ete tre kapã. e...e...lez ot, ki save sa, iz ale su
la lve avæk yn lymjær, žã se pa si s ete ã bulaj,⁵u k s s
kø s ete. me iz ale, e sa fãze yn lymjær, ki pase su
la lve. e i j ave d^zy mãn, ki ave si pør, sa sote pa la
nqi, "ã^zy tu. i fãze tut espæs dã malis. læ malã, me
l ot, save pa mjø. alor,...ã...kãt lez amurø ale {e le
bæl, l otrã fwa, sa pørse ã pũmkin, ã žiromã, sa mäte

⁴Onomatopeia. The sound of a bull whip's swishing.

⁵A hunting light, worn on the head.

yn buſ, d̥ zj̥, e d̥ ̥ru pUr l̥ ne. e iz ale syr lal,
 ...e iz ataſe sa, syr la port d̥ kUr, e iz ale sy la
 lve, su...su...l ̥t kote d̥ la lve. iz ale l ̥t kote d̥
 la lve, e iz ave yn fiſſl, e k̥t le gars̥ sorte ſe l̥r
 bsl, e...sa t^sire la fiſl. alor, l̥...l̥ žirom̥,
 r̥m̥e, e le gars̥ ave p̥r. j an a la d̥, iz ave p̥r.
 sa d̥m̥de a le,...l̥ žirom̥ la, me ki t^sy e? ki t^sy e?
 e e si l̥ žirom̥ r̥m̥e, sa parte a kUrIr, pars k̥ iz
 ave p̥r d^zy žirom̥. s e 'vre wi sa.]

[gri gri]

[i j ave d^zy m̥n ki krwaje d̥ le gri "gri lez ̥t
 fwa. s̥rt̥n pers̥n, āf̥, sa save pa mj̥. e, alor, lez
 ̥t save k iz ave p̥r d̥ gri gri,...de gri gri. sa pr̥ne
 d̥ ſ̥v̥, d̥ t^si m̥rso d̥ fiſſl, d̥ t^si m̥rso d̥ ̥rb, e iz
 a mar tu sa, ask d̥ t^si m̥rso d̥ kot̥, e iz ale m̥t sa,
 ān su lez ekalje d̥ s̥ 'm̥n la. e iz ave t̥lm̥ p̥r, s̥
 m̥n a v̥ne malad. e k̥t s e v̥ny malad, i d^zize k s ete
 le gri gri k ̥n a mi syr ̥.]

[spiritizm̥]

[i j ave d^zy m̥n ki f̥ze parle le tab. pa žyſ
 eliz. i j ave d^zy m̥n ki s̥te d̥ la rivj̥r la n̥i, ki
 v̥ne isi d̥ reserv, e iz ale d̥ le m̥z̥, f̥r parle le
 tab. me s ete "̥ ki mete l̥r ž̥nu, ān su la tab, ki fe
 la tab r̥m̥e. e p̥i ž̥ se pa ki par'le m̥. la...la
 tab parle pa, me s r̥p̥de, k̥t ̥ d̥m̥de k̥k ſ̥z. t̥ d̥
 fwa k̥ la tab frape, s ete pUr d^zir wi u n̥. me i j
 ave d^zy m̥n ki krwaje d̥ 'sa wi. me ̥ žUr l̥ "pret d̥

...dē l egliz sē pjær a sy "sa. alor, il a fe ã
 srmō, e la iz ō arete tu sa. e sa s e 'vre sa. i
 d^zize k sa fæze le "mōr parle. s e le "mōr, ki parle.

[lez avertismā]

[e i ave d^zy mōn, ki krwaje dā lez avertismā "osi.
 ki, si iz ōtōde kskŋoz, kē i a kēkōēn dā la famij, ki
 mu:re. e bjē, si...si ž ete asiz, žē vwaje kēk ŋoz
 gruje, ã žŪr i j ave yn dam, ki a d^zi, k el a vy, yn
 sēkup syr la tab, e k la tas, a dāse dā la sēkup, dā
 la sēkup, dā la sōsē. e el a pērdy ē pt^si garsō kēk
 žŪr apre, e...e d^zize, k s etet^s yn avertismā. e t^sy
 se, s ete pa 'vre sa.]

II H

[le bulduz]

[kā ž ete yn "tut pētīt fi:j, ma māmā ave yn tāt,
 ki ave marje ã kam, "žā kōm. me il e "mort. e...sō
 mari rēste sēl:, e s e d^zy mōn ki ave d "aržā. i j
 ave ē "ta d aržā. e...i j ave ã "prēt isi, s ete ē
 "pær badwal, me...il vuly "ŋase lē prēt dē la parwas,
 me il ete ã "bō prēt, æ "bō, "bō prēt. il ete ŋaritab,
 pŪr tu lē mōn. ilz ō vuly lē ŋase d la parwas, d^zy
 meŋā mōn. i ave, i ave, yn ban, s ete dē bul"duz. e
 iz ekrive, a lē pær badwal, pur lē pær lese la parwas
 sē žā batis:. e...e il a...il a žāmē part^si. i d^zi k
 il ore t^sŋe, me il ore žāmē part^si. alor, ã žŪr, il
 ā ete a ã mszō dē kur, e iz ō ōruve lē "lēt kē lē pær
 badwal ave. e iz ō rēkōny lekrietyr dē žā "kam, lē mari

də lə tāt də ma māmā. e, alor, il 3 arete. il 3 arete. la lwa e vėny l arete. e kėlke žur apre, avā kə s3 ka pare ā kur, il a d^zispary:. ẽ swar, il a d^zispary:. i rėste "səl dā sa mez3. ẽ swar il a d^zispary, lānmē matē, ž e yn də ma tāt, ki a ete l aple, dā sa mez3, il a pa rep3d^zy. e iz 3 uvær la mez3, iz 3 0ruve, k i a y yn bān, yn kāt^site də {ez, tut otor də s3 fwaje. s ete ām ivær:. e i j ave de sigarst, syr lə plā{e, k iz ave fyne. me l ɔm ete pa la. məsjo kām ete pa la. e i l 3 žame 0ruve. il a d^zispary. iz 3 sypoze, kə il ave yn pət^sit...ə...il ave ẽ skif ā dsu d sa mez3, e la skif ete pa la, iz 3 sypoze k 3 l ave t^sqe, e k 3 l ave žete, o f3 d^zy flə:v. me iz 3 žame, 0ruve s3 skif. e...s ete le bulduz, ki ave fe sa.]

II I

[lə lē{až]

[i j ave yn fami:j isi dā la parwas, ž ave sɛz ā. i j ave yn fami:j, k j ete tre pov...kā ž ete žēn fi:j, ž ave sɛz ā, i j ave yn fami:j, butžwa, ki rėste, syr l abitasj3, got{o, a bəl pwēt. e s3 mari, i s etet ẽ buržwa, də emit rive. sə 'm3n la, ave katr āfā. "rėne, "eđma, "ema, e "liljēn, e i ave ẽ nwar, ki rėste, syr l abitatasj3, ki te, ki te ẽn etrāže nwar, ki te nome ẽd d^zons3n. il e vėny syr l abitasj3, də got{o. i travaje a bəl pwēt pu le got{o. e məsjo buržwa konese

bjē l om, pars kē, i travaje, o ^tdrin mišin, o pre
 de bwa, Gravaje, o drin mišin. e i rēste ask sa fa'mi:j
 la. e ō žur, pur la vε:j dē mad^zi gra, lē mard^zi gra
 ete lēd^zi, me lē d^zimāš, e...sē 'dam la, sō pt^si frær,
 e ō d se pt^si kuzē, a ete pur porte la bušri, pur la
 fa'mi:j la ba. e kāt i sōt arive la ba, lē nwar, sē
 d^zon'son la, et arive syr ē...ō "traIsIkēl, "traIsIkēl,
 ē? s e kōm s? il e vēny, il a aple mēsjo bužwa, il a
 dēmāde a mēsjo bužwa, kē si m s, kē si i vule ale ān avā,
 pars kē, lē...lē kolōm se mi, ale lē vwar. e mēsjo
 bužwa e part^si. il a lese sa fami:j, il a part^si ān avā
 avek lē nwar. me kāt lē nwar et arive, et arive ān
 sertēn distās dē la mezō, il a tpe mēsjo bužwa. il a
 pri ō kuto, k il ave dā sa pōš, ō gro kuto. il a pike
 mēsjo bužwa, dā sō ku. e il a t^swe mēsjo bužwa. il a
 pri mēsjo bužwa, il a mi dāz ō fose, e il a kuvær ask
 dez erb. il e retorne ān erjær, še la fami:j, dē st 'om
 la. e kāt ō vy k iz ōt arive, iz ō kōmōse a puse de kri,
 pars kē, il ave d^zy sā syr 'lqi sē nwar la. e il et
 arive dā la mezō, e lē dō pt^si garsō, ki ave pote sēt
 bušri la, i sē sō ešape. iz ō traverse lē gro kanal,
 iz ō naže. iz ō traverse lē kanal, e iz ō pri dā lē bwa.
 e i sō vēny sort^sir, pō tet dō mil ply o, kē la u iz
 'ete la. me lē nēg a pri lē ply grā pt^si garsō, il a
 žete dā lē fose, dā lē kanal. il a kase lē ku, dē dō
 pt^sit fi:j, i lez a t^sqe. i lez a žete, dā lē kanal.
 e il a retorne, il a t^sire, il a pri lē fyzi, dē st 'om

la, e il a t^sire la fam, dā sō do. sl a tōbe syr lez
 eskalje dərjær, me apre sa, il a kupe lə ku də la fam,
 avsk ã kuto. il ave kə la po də sō ku ki rəste. s e vre,
 pars kə, ž e vy sa mwa 'məm sa. e l apre mi,...kā le
 pt^si garsō, sōt arive l apre mid^zi, se...ki ave eʃape,
 i sō vəny d^zir, k ō lez ave "tqe. alor, sə 'žur la, i
 ave yn komosjō dā rezerv,...iz ō ete a mōt eri, syr l ab,
 ...l abitasjō de wagespæk, pur vwar pur lə nwar, pars
 kə le pt^si garsō ave d^zi k lə nwar ave ã ʃapo gri. iz
 ō pri ē nɛg, syr l abitasjō de wagespæk. alor, iz ō ete,
 iz ō pase, iz ō pa py ɐruve lə nwar. iz ō ete syr l
 abitasjō, bəl pwēt, il etet asiz syr ã,...ã step, o pre
 d^zyn barjær, me il et a žwe la gitar. alor, il ō
 atrape. e il a sœlmā, il ave kə d^zi pjas, amare dā ã
 muʃwar blø. me il ave le d^zi pjas syr lɥi. me il ave
 deža ote sō lēž, alor, iz ō ete dā sa mɛzō, u li rəste,
 iz ō ɐruve ty sō lēž, ki ete pl⁴ d sā. iz ō sy, k s
 ete lɥi. alor, iz ō pri lə, lə nwar. iz ō amare ān
 ɛrjær d^z yn vwat^syr. e i l ō āɐrɛne, dā lə ʃmē, me s
 ete də,...d la bu, e də l o . i l ō āɐrʃne, e i l ō
 amne, pa lwē də ma mɛ'zō la. i sō vəny lə pān, dɛvā
 la propriete, də la mōmō d set pɛrsōn. e l ō lIntʃ la.
 j ave,...j ave, žə sɥi syr, ply də ɐrwa mil pɛrsōn, ki
 ete la, kāt i l ō amne. e mwa ž eⁱte vwar sa. me žə,...
 me žə vule pa vwar pōn l ɔm, mwa e ma sɛr, me ō lɥi ō
 pōd^zy. ōn a vy, kāt^s i l ō pōd^zy. e i l ō...iz ō t^sire,
 pōdō k iz et a lə pān, iz ō t^sire, me...mebi UndrId

bUlit. i l 3 t^sire. e iz 3 pri sē 'nwar la, i l 3
 ātere,...ā...āⁿ dsu, d la lve. o...no...ān erjær dē
 la lve. i l 3 ātere. iz 3 fe ā 0ru. iz 3 ātere
 asiz. me la pt^si gars3 ki l 3 žete ā l o, il n e pa
 'mort n3. il ete ty pēt^si. il ave kē katr ā. il a
 tany lez erb, e il a m3te, dā lē kanal, e kāt i vone 3n
 avā, il a r3k3tre ān om ki ete a 3eval, e i krwaje, k
 s ete lē nwar, il a k3māse a puse dē kri, dē kri. il
 ete tu, il ete hofmēn, tēlmā il ave pēr. me, alor, l
 om la, a pri, e,...l om l a amne, 3e lqi, s a aple rēne,
 lē pt^si gars3. me lē pt^si žān om s e vany grā, i s e
 marje, il a y yn fami:j, me il e mōr a prezā.]

III A

[žē ve 3āte ā...ā...ā morso ā frāse. ž ātā lē
 tābo ki ba.

ž ātā lē tābo ki: ba: ki ba
 s e l amurē ki m apēlē
 žānē fijē tu tUr el:
 ki n a pa pase kēz ā
 me dēmwarzēl rātre dā l rā
 fet lē tur: dē la kadās
 o: li o la, o: li o la
 ābrase k el vu plera

III B

[læ sūdrijō]

[vwasi læ kōt də "sIndersla. yn pət^sit fi:j, s ete, yn pət^sit fi:j, kə a ite tužu:r "rəpuse, par la bəl mær, e le "step slste. yn fwa, il i ave, ã grā bal. tu le sœ:r, sə sō abije, bjē, pur ale, a la, a la sware. e el, el ete, tužu:r, mal abije. kōn yn "sūdrijōn, k ã l apəl. el a, el a pa py ale. me, el ave yn:, marēn, ki e vəny, e ki l a abije. e el a e"te bjēn abije, tã kə pərsōn saʃ. el a ete, lœr syrpra^Im, dã la sal, də dās. la marēn lqi a d^zi, i fo k el swa læ rətUr, avã minqi:. el a rəturnē. 3 lqi a d^zi kāmã il i ave yn žoli pərsōn, ki ete a la dās. e, el ete si žoli. e...ã kurã, pur ale ʃez el, el a pərd^zy, ã də se sulje. e læ prēs, a pri læ sulje. e...e...e i d^zi, kə si ø pø 0ruve kəkã, pur mət se sulje, k ə l a le la marje. il a ete dã le plas, ki ete dã sət sware. e kãt iz ete "la, u ə rəst, avək se sœr, ki ete a la sware. e l a dēmãde tu se sœr, ã vuly eseje læ sulje? me, le sulje, n'ale pa, a pərsōn. el a dēmãde, k el esəj læ sulje. e le sœr ã d^zi, nō. ə d^zi, o lʃse 'mwa, s il vu plə, eseje. alor, læ prēs a d^zi, o, wi, lese la. el ete abije, tu ã definē, pars kə, el nə vule pa k 3 saʃ, kə s etet el,...ki ete, a la sware, osi bəl kə sa. alor, kãt el a mi, læ sulje, el a marje læ prēs.]

IV A

[Ž e kony eloiz dIkəsən. ɛl ave, tužUr:, de
t^sit istwar, a nu d^zIr. yn fwa, yn fwa, ɛl a d^zi a
serja siset, kə si ɛ fəze pa ātāsjd, k yn vaʃ aleprān
dərjær ɛl. e l ore kury, pur sə sove, me, serja kə
ri, e ɛl a pa "kry sa. dø žUr apre, la vaʃ a pri dər
jær ɛl. e se dø nəg, ki l a sove, də la vaʃ. ɛl ɛ
vəny,...ɛl ɛ vəny dā la mezʒ. nuz a mi tu asi, otUr
d^z yn tab...e nu d^zi, kə la "tab, ale sə ləve dā l
miljø ā la ʃam. e, ʒn efe, ɛl a fe, yn t^sit prijer,
e la "tab a ete su lve, də l, d^zy plāʃe, yn bʒn otər.
e serja krwaje pa, dā'sa tu se. e, kʒt eloiz vėne,
serja vule et tužUr la. ɛ žUr, eloiz et a parle, et
a nu d^zIr, sa ki l e arive, e serja s e mi rIr. ɛl a
"ri d ɛl. me, s e l a faʃe. e d^zi, ty se "twa, ɛ, e
d^zi, t^sy vø rIr, me, səl ki va rIr dərnjær, s e sra
mwa. me, e d^zi, ləs mwa tē d^zIr, tʒ žUr va vėnIr, e
d^zi, sət 'vaʃ la, va prān dərjær twa syr "ʃəmɛ, e, e
d^zi, si t^sy so^tpa la barjær ase vit, ž tē garʒt^si, k i
va tē prān, to tā.⁶ serja a ri. ɛl a fe fən d eloiz,
žor la. me, e s e faʃe ɛ ta. ərwa žUr apre, l afər
arive. e s e dø nəg, ki l a sove. alor, "apre sa, a
ʃak fwa k eloiz vėne, kʒ serja save, k əloiz te⁷la,
e parte. e vule pa s rʒkʒərə, avək ɛl. alor, ɛl e

⁶Patois, you hear (tu entends)

⁷Patois, était

dəməde tužUr, e d^zi, me u ser"ja? e d^zi kōmō sa
 serja vjē "ply, kō žē vjē? žē d^zi, pars k el a pær
 də tē rōkōere, žē d^zi, pars kē, t^sy vwa, kō la va
 pri dərjær el, el a y p sote la barjær, pu sē sove.
 e, apre sa, e bē, s e kōm si e krwaje, tu s ki eloiz
 'd^zie, t^sy se.]

 V

[ē fi fole]

[ē fi fole, si ē fi fole...vjē apre twa, pu
 fē:^r kek {ōž, e si t^sy mē kek {ōž, dō ē t^si ōru, ka
 mēm s e ē eguij...t^sy se, ēn egui? la, u t^sy pas d^zy
 fil, la? ē fi fole va pa t fēr arjē. me, si t^sy a
 pa kek {ōž, pu fi fo'le la, pu pase, dā kek t^si 'ōru
 la, pu žwe kōm sa, i va prōn dərjær twa. ē fi fole,
 s e kōm ē bet, kek {ōž, ki 'vjē la,...ē fi fole.]

 VI A

[la bu{ri]

[mētō,...tu le fami:j fēze,...ān iver, i fēze
 də, bu{ri...e, avēk ...la...bu{ri, ō fēze,...ōn ave,
 ā la vjan...ō fēze sa sale,...e...ō fēze,...dez āduj,
 e āe sosis bu, bukōnē, pu le d^zyre...e ō fēze d la
 žle, e āe budē ruž, e de budē blā. e {ak fami:j, dōne
 yn par də bu{ri, a lērz ami:, lēr parā. e pui, kāt ø
 i fēzō lē:r bu{ri, sa dnē ākor, yn par dəbu{ri. sa fe,
 lē mōn ave tužUr, la bu{ri fre. tu le fami:j, elve ōrwa

u kat koʃʃ par, par ā kə i pure fər, sət buʃri, kə
 žəvu d^zi avā. ʃ fəze...avək se kóʃʃ la, ʃ fəze rʃn
 la gres. e il a faly k ʃ fe ase pUr nu d^zyre tu l anē.
 ʃak fami:j ave pUr avwar ase pUr tu l anē.]

VI B

[l ekol]

[ʃn ave yn ekol prive, ā frāse. me, l anē kə,
 mwa, ž kōmʃse l ekol, la metres d ekol, m a ēsθrui,
 ʃn ʃngle. ž e parle pa ʃngle. ž ete, a la prēmje
 ekol pyblik, dā la parwas sē žā bat^sis. le liv ete
 d^zyr, pUr avwar. ʃ vōde pa, de liv isi. il a faly,
 kʃ va ʃ vil, pUr aʃte de liv. sa fe, ʃ prēne le liv,
 ...ʃn aʃte le liv, sēgʃn mē. ʃn ave,...l ekol ete,
 dāz yn "vjeʃj, "vjeʃj mezʃ. lə plāʃe ete "plē, "plē
 də θru. ʃn ave py, d tābe la dā. me, ā fəze "bjēn
 atāsʃʃ...e, ʃn, yn,...yn le,...ʃn a y l ekol, dā sət
 vjeʃj mē'zʃ la, pUr kəlkez anē. e apre, ʃn a bat^si, yn
 grān ekol py'blik s k ʃn apele grā, dā sē 'tā la,
 avək "sət grān ʃam. ʃn ave yn t^sit fi:j, ki e vəny,
 a l e'kol la, e n ave pa ase d plas, pUr le bebe.
 sa fe, əl ete la,...əl vule pa, ʃāže l bat^sis. əl a
 d^zi, a la metres, žə pø pa li:r, ožUrdui, me, dāmē,
 žə pUre li:r...pUr rəste dā sət,...dā sət grān ba't^sis
 la, kə la u nu, nu ān ete. sa fe, la metres lvi a
 pa āvwaje, avək le bebe. e mwa ki vu d^zi, əl e vəni,
 ə puve li:r, mjø də "tu la klas. e s ete, sa "prēmjər

anē, k el a kōmōse, d ekol.]

VI C

[le tretæ:z e le tretæ:r]

[Že kōnese, dØ Өretæ:z, e dØ Өretæ:r. le Өretæ:z Өrete, lə Өretæ:r Өrete, pUr le "rezipsl, e de "fulæ:r, de "poro, e de "pōjē fəb. ō trete, avək de "fæ:j, "siro və:r, la "farin grale, k j ete mi, syr lə rezipsl, e le fæ:j {ese, e sa geri, la rezipsl,...ž e vy se Өre'tæ:r la, pase kat erezipsl, avək se Өrst'mō la. ž e vy se Өre'tər la, pase de poro. e ž e vy, de fuly:r, Өrete kōm 'sa, osi. žə swi pa, su[s:rstiæ:z, me, ž e vy sa. lə rUmat^sis, ete Өrete, osi, avək yn pomad, də pōm də tæ:r rape, avək lə koUloIl, e kəlke {oz æt, ki ete səkre, k ā d^zize pa, ki s ete. e sa fəze, d^zy bjē. e ž e vy, də mal ki geri pa, ki a ete geri, avək ōn āgā, ki e fe avək,...ə...lə zərb pūijōt, e la grəs de zwa, apre kə s ete kŭi.]

VI D

[la pjæ:r gerisō]

[ōn a...ōn ēd^zē, ki a done a yn om...ōn om yn pjæ:r, s ete a la vaŕri, dā la parwas, sē žā bat^sis. e sat' pjæ:r la, s truve si bō, pUr et^sire la pwazā.

ān ave...sət pʃɛ:r, ete mi, ān ave ān ɛdjɛ,⁸ ki...
 a...ki...a mɔd^zy⁹yn fi:j, syr sa lɛv, e il ɔ poze la
 pʃɛ:r, e la pʃɛ:r a pri syr sa lɛv, e la pʃɛ:r a rɛste
 la, pUr ɐrwaz ɛ:r. e kāt la pʃɛ:r tɔbe, la pʃɛ:r ave
 tire, tu la pwazɔ,...e...ɛl e vɛny bjɛ. kɔt le ʃjɛ
 āraʒe, mɔrde lə mŋn, ā me...ān ale a la vaʃri, pUr mɛt
 la pʃɛ:r, syr lə, la mɔrd^zyr. e, la pʃɛ:r prɛne, e,
 la pʃɛ:r rɛste la, kɛlkə tǎ, dɔz ɛ:r, trwaz ɛ:r, ʒys
 kə la pʃɛ:r, ave tu syse, tu la pwazǎ, kj ete la dǎ.
 e k ān ave pa...sət pʃɛ:r ete ɐruve, par ān ɛdjɛ, dǎz
 ān estoma, də ɛ ʃevrɛ:j blǎ. e l ɛdjɛ, a donɛ sət
 'pʃɛ:r la, a ān ɔm blǎ...e l ɔm tɛne sət pʃɛ:r, a sa
 mezɔ, e sət pʃɛ:r, ete mi, syr ɛ mɔrd^zyr...e la pʃɛ:r
 prɛne sa, ʒys kə, il ave prɛne tu...ote tu la pwazǎ.
 apre kə la pʃɛ:r tɔbe, ā mete la pʃɛ:r, dǎz yn vɛ:r
 ...dǎz ɛ vɛ:r də le. e la pʃɛ:r, s e netwaje. ā
 puve sə sɛrvi ɔkɔr, avɛk la pʃɛ:r. e la pʃɛ:r e
 tuʒŮr, ān egziztǎs, oʒŮrdɥi. me, il e bjɛ pɛt^si.
 kāt ān ave kɔmɔse, avɛk la pʃɛ:r, la pʃɛ:r ete gro,
 kɔm ɛ sɛkɔt su.

VI E

[la sɛt vjerʒ]

[kǎ ʒ ave ɐraz ā, ʒ ale ʃe ma tǎt...ʒ ale ʃe

⁸[yn arɛnje], a black widow spider.

⁹Mordu, bitten.

ma tāt, pUr mē kuše....e, nōt mezō, avō kē ma māmā
 e mōrt, la u ān a rēs'te la, s ete žys, yn mezā,
 ān ārjēr dē la mezō, dē ma tāt. e kāt žē sūi vēne
 pUr...vēne...vēnir, pUr uvēr la port dē kUr, ž e
 žete mez jō, a ma mezā, e ž e vy la, yn "žoli, "žoli
 fi:j, abije ā blō, avēk ō grā rybō...abije ā blā,
 ...avēk ō grā rybō blō a sa ta:j. s l ave yn kurōn,
 ki tuše pa sa tāt, me kj ete tre brijāt. s ete kēk
 ōz, kj ete tro žoli...tre žoli. ž e rēgarde sa, pUr
 kēk tād...e aprē, ž ete ōe ma tāt, ž e ublije pUr sa.
 e lē...e lē lānmē, or, aprē d^zinē, ž e d^zi a mō papa,
 k ē s kē ž ave vy. e i m a d^zi, ē s kē s ete kēk ōn
 t^sy ave kōny? ž e d^zi, nō, s e kēk ōn, kē ž ave žōmē
 vy. e ž e apri, ply tar, kē s ete, la sēt vjērž.
 kāt ž e kōmōse ā ale, a l egliz, ž e vy la sēt vjērž,
 e ž e d^zi, sa s e la bēl fi:j, la žoli fi:j, kē ž e
 vy, syr lē twa dē la mezā.]

VI F

[l āfā žēzy dē prag]

[yn ot fwa, ž ete ale ōkor, a ma tāt, pUr kuše,
 a la bryn. ž e vy, Infēt džizēs ēv prag...ž e vy,
 l āfā jezy dē prag. il ete abije, avēk sō t^si kapo
 ruž. il ete "dēsū lē twa. il ete "bjē žoli. il ave
 sa ku'rōn lūi osi. me žē save pa, ki "lūi, il ete.
 ōn ale a l egliz, me ān ave pa, sē 'sē la, dō not
 egliz. e...s ete kēlkēz anē, aprē kē ōn a...kē kēk

õn a dõnẽ, sã sẽ, a not egliz. s ete l egliz sẽ
 pjs:r. ež e d^zi, e bjẽ, sa se, lã pt^si ezy dã prag,
 kã ž e vy, syr la mezõ.]

VI G

[le bærse:z]

[kãt ž ave d^ziz ã, ž õtõde le bærse:z, ki bærse,
 la nõi, kãt ž ẽ rãgarde. õn ave dõ bærse:z, dã la
 řam dã kuře. e kãt ž ẽ rãgarde, le bærse:z arete.
 ilz ete tužUr arete. mẽ...o...sa ete pUr lãtã, pUr
 dez anẽ, le bærse:z bærse. tu le swar, sa mã reveje,
 e ã swar, ž e vy lã, ã bær...yn bærse:z bærse. l ot
 ete arete. me tu le dõ bærse. õn ave arete. me, ž
 e vy ã, kj etape¹⁰ bærse, e kãt ž ẽ mete de sulje, e
 ksk řoz pUr bloke le bærse:z, i puve pa bærse. e ž
 ave pær, dã sa...me kãt ž e vy la bærsez bærse, ž e
 d^zi, s ete pa mõ...ž e emãžine pa sa. s ete "sa. me
 kãt ž e bloke le bærsez, ž õtãde pa le bærsez bærse...
 bærse...d^zy tu.]

VI H

[le maske]

[õt lã nwel, e lã žUr dã lã, pUr nuz amyze, õ
 veje, s k õn apel, krist^sin. le krist^sin, pase mezõ
 a mezõ, ki le veje. e iz amẽ...ete maske. e iz ete,

¹⁰Patois, [ete], was.

ã kost^sym, e iz amnẽ de kãd^zi, e i pase le kãd^zi ã
tUr, e i faly, ki ã d^zi ki ez ete, e kãt ãn e røkãnese,
iz ote lær ma, mask.]

CHAPTER II

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

I A

A Mustache

"Oh, do you know what a little...what they told me the other day? They said, 'Kissing a man without a mustache is like eating an egg without salt.' Do you believe that? You,too? Well, they were telling the truth."

I B

The Wasp's Waist

"It's my old Grandfather Lasseigne who told me why the wasp has such a thin waist. Well, the wasp and the mosquito went hunting...fishing, and after a moment, the mosquito caught a fish. Well, the wasp said, 'Your fish is big.'

He (the mosquito) said, 'Yes, the last one is as big as my leg.'

The wasp laughed so hard, squeezing his waist, that's the reason his waistline has remained like it is today."

I C

The Tongue

"There was a king who one day said to his chef, he said, 'Listen, tomorrow I am going to receive company, not ruffians, but dignitaries. And I want you to give us the best thing in the world for dinner.'

The individual listened a moment, then he said, 'Lord, your orders will be obeyed.'

The king said to himself, 'What will he give us?' He thought no more about the meal. The guests arrived, were seated around the table, and before them was a beautiful tongue on a platter. Do you remember how we used to have such lovely tongues? Nobody has tongue anymore. It's all beef without tongues that are butchered. And the king looked at that, and the invited looked at that. It smelled good, you know, m-m-m-good cooking! And they thought about it, and they thought, 'But what has he given us for the best thing in the world?' They cleaned the platter, it was such a good meal.

Another week later, another group was to arrive for dinner. The king called his cook again, and he said, 'Listen, the other day I asked you for the best

thing in the world. You gave it to me. Tomorrow, I'm going to have company. I want to give them the worst thing in the world.'

The chef wasn't disturbed. He replied, 'Lord, your orders will be obeyed.'

The king said to himself, 'I wonder what he will give us. The other day it was tongue. What will he give us tomorrow?'

Finally, the time came. Another beautiful tongue! It's as if I can see that tongue. A big tongue hung like we used to hang them, you know, with garlic in little slits in the tongue. Well, when the invited guests arrived, they dined on the tongue. After they had gone, he went to his cook's room. He said, 'You know, you did me an evil turn.'

And the chef replied, 'And how, Lord?'

He said, 'The other day I had guests. I asked for the best thing in the world. You gave me a tongue.'

Well, didn't the guests devour it?'

The king answered, 'Yes, they liked it. But it was supposed to be the best thing. But it wasn't something like that that I wanted. I wanted something more elegant. Why did you do that to me? That was a dirty trick you played on me.'

'No, Lord, that wasn't an evil trick. That was a good turn. The tongue, the tongue is the best thing in the world, and at the same time, the worst.'

He said, 'Lord, it's all in the way you use it.'

That's true, isn't it? Go always criticizing everyone with this and that, that's a bad tongue. Rarely does a gossip tell the truth. But she will always talk about evil tongues."

II A

The Dance

"When we grew up, there were four big girls. And we went to dances, and the dances weren't far from home. We wore pretty dresses because my mother was a dressmaker. And we went to dances, and we were chaperoned by our mother and father. And we went to dances and we danced with all of the boys. We danced with all of the boys. We danced with all of the boys who were in the ballroom, but we didn't go to dances with boys.

There was a white band, the St. Pierres, who provided the music, a string band, nice music.

We went to dances and danced all night, but we went only on Saturday nights. And the rest of the week we had to stay at home, working, sewing, always occupied. We didn't run the road. We were always at home at sunset. If we went to sit on the levee on a bench, before it got dark, we were all inside.

If we had a sweetheart, he walked home from the dance with us, but the boys didn't hold us by the arm. They walked. Sometimes young men came to walk with us,

but they didn't even hold us by the arm."

II B

Courtship

"There were five sisters in the house, and there was only one place to receive sweethearts, and we were all seated in the house in the same room. But there was no courting, because we were shy.

Then, when the boys went home, we weren't even allowed to go out on the porch to...we had to remain at the door. Well, we had boy friends...there were young men who were our sweethearts two years before marrying. But we weren't engaged. But when we went to dances, we danced with all of the boys, not only with the sweethearts. Even if we had a sweetheart, we danced with all the boys."

II C

Formal Balls

"When I was young, just a little girl, we went to watch the balls. And I had a sister who danced, and she was the best dancer in the family. And they danced, when I was young:

The Military Polka

It was a beautiful dance, but she was the only sister who danced it.

Square Dance

And they danced a square dance, the Lancier; it

was like a chain, exchanging cavaliers and ladies.

The Quadrille

And there was another. It was a quadrille, we called it. But, the dancers jumped when they danced the quadrille. They lined up and ran.

The Variety Dance

The variety dance was a square dance and the young man let his lady go, and he danced with all the other young ladies in turn.

The Grand Waltz

And there was a dance called the 'Grand Waltz.' It was a chain. All the young ladies held hands, and the boys were in the center of the ring, and the boys danced with each in turn until he reached the last lady. And there were lots of boys. All of the boys danced that dance. Each boy had his lady, but they exchanged partners. That was the 'Grand Waltz.'

The Mazurka

And there was the 'Mazurka.' They danced that. That was beautiful.

The Waltz

And the waltz...they waltzed well. But the waltz wasn't like the waltzes today. They jump today. And that was the waltz.

And we went to the balls, and we remained until two o'clock in the morning.

Picnic Dances

And we went on picnics. Sunday afternoon on the river banks, there were one accordion and one mouth-organ to play for us. That's all we had."

II D

Songs and Games

I measure the ribbon

"When I was little, we went on picnics, and at the picnics we had round dances. All the little boys and girls held hands and sang. We sang, but I don't know the air of the song, but I know that we sang, 'I measure the ribbon.'

So, the boy said, 'I measure the ribbon.'

The young lady responded, 'How many yards?'

He said, 'Four yards, five yards,' sometimes.

She said, 'For whom?'

He answered, 'For Miss Thus and So,' naming the name of the little girl.

We played with a handkerchief. We formed a circle when we were young, and the boys passed behind us, dropping the handkerchief. Wherever the handkerchief fell, that was the little girl whom the boy kissed."

I fall in the well

"And we played also, 'I fall in the well.' This is another song.

I fall in a well

Chorus: How many feet?

Five feet, or three feet
 Chorus: For whom?
 Miss... And then he kissed the girl."

II E

Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox

"We were told stories when we were little. We were told stories, but the stories were told in Congo, in Negro French, in Creole. And they were about a rabbit and an animal that they called Bouki. And they made harvests together. And the rabbit was more shrewd than the other. He asked his camrade, if they were harvesting potatoes, he asked his camrade, 'Which do you want; do you want the harvest on the top or that under the earth?'

And the other replied, 'Well, I'll take the top.' And the rabbit had all the potatoes, and the other had all the weeds. Well, the next day came; he said to his friend, 'We're going to harvest beans.' He said, 'What do you want of the beans?'

The other, his friend, answered him, Bouki answered him this time, 'I want to take the bottom.' So, Bouki had all of the roots and the rabbit had all of the beans. Then, one day they harvested melons, and Br'er Rabbit asked Br'er Fox what he wanted of the melon harvest. Did he want that which was above the earth, or that which was below the earth.

The fox said, 'Oh, yes, this time you aren't going to fool me. I know what I want. I want the part underneath.' So, he had only the roots, and the rabbit had all the melons. So, all of the harvests that they made were like that. The rabbit always got the best part of the harvest, while the other got nothing at all."

II F

More Songs and Games

The Song of the little bird

"Well, they sang for all the little girls to form a circle, with one mounted on a chair or a box, and the little girl sang, 'God made me to fly; let me go.'

And all the little girls made a round dance while singing, 'But we hold you, little bird. We will give you bon-bons and candies.'

That was a song.

Flic au Floc¹

'Crack, swish! You have broken your glass

And you'll not drink from it anymore!'

Chorus: 'I won't break anymore glasses,

But I'll drink from the crown of my hat!' "

¹Onomatopoeia. The sound made by a bull whip's swishing.

II G

Superstitions and Pranks

"When we were young, there were people who believed in witches. And there were others who were afraid. And there were those who tied bits of string on their porches (the frightened one's porches) and on a fence; and they had something to make a noise with the string. Then, when everyone was sitting down inside the house, they played on this string. The people inside were so frightened of the noise, they said it was made by witches.

Fais-foli

And there were people who were afraid. They were such cowards. And the others who knew that went on the levee with a light. I don't know if it was a 'bull-eye'² or what it was, but they went and made a light pass over the levee. And there were some people who were so afraid that they didn't go out at night at all.

They played all kinds of pranks, the sly ones, but the others didn't know any better.

Well, when the sweethearts went calling on their girls in times past, they (the pranksters) pierced a

²A hunting light, worn on the head and similar to a miner's lamp. Its use is illegal, but still rather widespread. It is used to blind deer, rabbits, and other game at night. Game laws forbidding its use came into existence because the "bull-eye" is not considered sporting equipment for hunting.

pumpkin, with a mouth, two holes for the eyes, and one for the nose, and they attached that to the gate. Then they went on the other side of the levee, and they had a string; and when the young man came from his sweetheart's home, the string was pulled, causing the pumpkin to move. The boys were frightened. They used to ask the pumpkin sometimes, 'But who are you? But who are you?' And if the pumpkin moved, they left running because they were afraid of the pumpkin. That's true.

Gris-gris

There were people who believed in curses being put on people by witches, certain people, that is, who didn't know any better. So, the others who knew who was afraid of gris-gris, they took hair, pieces of string, pieces of grass, and they tied all that with little pieces of cotton, and they put that under the steps of those people. They were so afraid, those people became ill. And when they got sick, they said that it was a result of the gris-gris that had been put on them.

Spiritualists

There were people who made tables talk, not only Heloise³. They were people who came from New Orleans to Reserve and entered homes to make tables talk. But it is they who put their knees under the tables to make

³See p. 41

them move, but I don't know what made the table talk. The table didn't talk; it only answered when it was asked something. So many times that the table rapped meant 'yes' or 'no.' But there were people who believed in that. One day the priest of St. Peter's Church learned about that. Then, he made a sermon, and so they stopped all that. But that's true. They said that they made the dead speak. It was the dead that spoke.

Premonitions

There were people who believed in premonitions of misfortune. And if they heard something (a noise), that someone in the family would die. If I were seated and I saw something move...One day there was a lady who said that she saw a saucer on her table, and the cup danced in the saucer. And several days later her little son died, and she said it was a premonition. But, you know, that wasn't true."

II H

The Terrorists

"When I was just a little girl, my mother's aunt married a Cambre, Jean Cambre. Her aunt died. They were people who had a lot of money. There was a priest here, Father Badoil. There were some who wanted to chase him out of the parish, but he was a good priest, a good, good priest. He was charitable to everyone.

Some wanted to chase him out of the parish, those bad people. There was a band of terrorists called Bouledouze.⁴ They wrote the priest letters telling him to leave the parish, St. John the Baptist Parish. He didn't leave. He said they could kill him, but he'd never leave. So. One day they went to the courthouse, and they found the letters that Father Badoil had. They recognized Jean Cambre's handwriting, the husband of my mother's aunt. So, the letters stopped. They were stopped by the law. Several days after, before his case came up in court, he disappeared. One night he disappeared. He lived alone in his house. One night he disappeared; one of my aunts went to his house to call him, but he didn't answer. They opened the house and they found a large number of chairs all around his fireplace. It was winter. And there were cigarettes that they had smoked all over the floor, but Mr. Cambre wasn't there. And he was never found. He disappeared. It was surmised...He had a skiff under his house, but the skiff wasn't there. It was surmised that the terrorists had killed him and thrown him down to the bottom of the river. But his skiff was never found. And it was the Bouledouze⁴ that did it."

⁴This informant could give no further information about this word since she was repeating to the best of her recollection what she had heard in her childhood. The traditional French orthogrophy here used most nearly represents the spoken word.

II I

"When I was sixteen, there was a Bourgeois family which lived on the Godchaux plantation at Belle Pointe and the husband was a Bourgeois from Amite River. There were four children in the family. Rene, Edma, Emma, and Lillian. There was a black who lived on this plantation who was a strange black, named Ed Johnson. He worked in Belle Pointe for the Godchaux'. Mr. Bourgeois knew him well because he worked at the drain machine and in the woods, and one day, on the vigil of Mardi-Gras;⁵ Mardi-Gras was on Monday,⁵ but on Sunday, the lady's brother and a cousin came to bring a share of the butchering to the family. And when they arrived there, the black arrived also, on a tricycle,⁶ and he asked Mr. Bourgeois to go to the front⁷ because he was wanted. So Mr. Bourgeois left his family and went with the black. But when they had gone some distance from the house, he killee Mr. Bourgeois with a knife he took from his pocket. He stuck him in the neck, threw him in a ditch and covered him with grass. He returned to the family which began to scream when he came in sight because he was covered wihh blood. When the Negro en-

⁵The vigil of Mardi-Gras is on Monday. The affair did occur on Sunday, however.

⁶Bicycle.

⁷Near the river, where the offices were located.

tered the house, the two little boys who had brought the butchering escaped into the big canal and swam across the canal and took to the woods, coming out above where they had entered, about two miles. The Negro took the biggest of the two little boys⁸ and threw him in the ditch, in the canal. He broke the necks of the two little girls. He killed them and threw them in the canal. He went back into the house, took her husband's gun and shot her in the back. She fell down the steps. Then he cut her neck with a knife until only the skin of her neck was left. That's true, because I saw that myself. When the two little boys⁹ reached safety, they spread the news. That day there was a commotion in Reserve. When the posse found the Negro, he was playing a guitar on a stile near a fence. He had ten dollars tied up in a blue handkerchief, and that belonged to the man who was killed. He had already changed his clothes, but in his house were found the bloody clothing, evidence of his guilt.

So they took the Negro. They tied him behind a vehicle. And they dragged him in the road, but it was mud and water. They dragged him, and they brought him not far from my house. And they came to hang him in front of the property of the mother of this person. And they lynched him. There were, I am sure, more than three

⁸René Bourgeois.

⁹The little brother and cousin of Mrs. Bourgeois.

thousand people who were there when they brought him. And I went to see that, but I didn't want to see the man hanged, my sister and I, but they hanged him. We saw when they hanged him. And they shot him, while they were hanging him, they shot him maybe a hundred bullets. They shot him. They took this black, they buried him behind the levee. They buried him, they made a hole, they buried him in a sitting position.

But the little boy he threw in the water didn't die. He was very small. He was only four years old. He held onto the grass, and he climbed in the canal. And when he came to the front¹⁰ he met a man on horseback, and he thought it was the black. He began to scream and scream, he was so terrified. But, then, this man took him; this man took him to his house. He was called René, the little boy. But the little boy grew up, married, and had a family; but he is dead now."

III A

Song: I Hear the Drums That Beat

"I am going to sing a piece in French: 'I Hear the Drums That Beat.'

I hear the drums that beat, that beat;
It is love that calls me.
Young girls all around

¹⁰ See note 7, p. 37.

Who have not passed fifteen years!
My young lady, enter the circle;
Make the circle of the cadence.
O, li, O, la; O li, O, la;
Kiss whoever pleases you!"

III B

Cinderella

"This is the story of Cinderella. A little girl... it was a little girl who was always...she was always ignored by her step-mother and her step-sisters. Once there was a great ball. All the sisters dressed themselves well to go to the ball. And she was always poorly dressed, like a chimney-sweep, as she was called. She couldn't go. But she had a godmother who came and dressed her. And she was so well dressed that no one could recognize her. She went there and surprised them all in the ball-room. Her godmother told her that she must return home before midnight. She returned, and when her sisters returned also, they told about how there was a beautiful person who was at the ball. And she was so beautiful! And while running to return home, she lost one of her shoes. And the prince took the shoe and said that if he could find someone to wear that shoe, he would marry her. He went everywhere there were people who had come to his ball, and when he arrived where she lived with her sisters who had been to the ball, he asked the sisters if they

wished to try on the shoe. But the shoe didn't fit anyone. She asked to try on the shoe. And the sisters said, 'No.'

She said, 'Oh, please let me try it on.'

So the prince said, 'Oh, yes. Let her.'

She was dressed in rags because she didn't want anyone to know that it was she who was at the ball as beautiful as all that.

When she put on the shoe, she married the prince."

IV A

"I knew Heloise Dickerson. She always had little stories to tell us. Once she said to Celia Cicet that if she weren't careful, that a cow would take after her, and she would have to run to save herself. But Celia only laughed, and she didn't believe all that. Two or three days after, the cow took after Celia, and it is two Negroes that saved her from the cow.

She (Heloise) came into the house and we all sat around a table. She told about the table, that it would raise itself in the middle of the room. And, in fact, she made a little prayer in French, and the table raised itself a good height from the floor. But she didn't believe in that, you understand. And when Heloise came, Celia was always there. One day, Heloise was talking, telling about things that were going to happen and Celia began to laugh. She laughed. That made her (Heloise)

angry. She said, 'You know, you, eh,' she said, 'You are laughing, but the one who is going to laugh last will be me.' But, she said, 'Let me tell you,' she said, 'Your day is coming.' She said, 'That cow is going to take after you in the road, and if you don't jump the fence fast enough, I guarantee it will catch you, you hear!'

Celia laughed. She made fun of Heloise that day, but she (Heloise) was very angry. Three days after, the thing happened. And it's two Negroes that saved her.

So, after that, whenever Heloise came, when Celia knew that Heloise was there, she left. She didn't want to meet Heloise. And she (Heloise) always said, 'But where is Celia? Why doesn't Celia come anymore when I'm here?'

I said, 'Because she is afraid to meet you.' You know, when the cow took after her, she had to jump that fence to save herself. And after that, it seemed that she believed what Heloise said."

V A

"A fifole¹¹, if a fifole comes after you to do something, and if you put something in a little hole even if it's a needle, you know, a needle which you pass a thread through, a fifole won't do you anything. But if you haven't anything to pass in and out of a little hole like that,

¹¹Actually, fais-foli, make foolishness.

it will take after you. A fifole is like a beast, something that comes, a fifole."

VI A

The Butchering

"Now all of the families in winter held a butchering. From this butchering we had meat. We salted it, and we made andouille and sausage to smoke to preserve it, and we made hog's head cheese, white sausage and red sausage, and every family gave a share of the butchering to relatives and friends who assisted; and when they, in turn, held their butcherings, they divided the butchering, also. That way, everyone always had fresh meat. All of the families raised three or four hogs each year so that they could make this butchering that I talked about before. With these hogs, we rendered lard, and we had to make enough to last all year."

VI B

School Days

"We had a private school in French, but the year I began school, the teacher taught me in English. I didn't speak English. I attended the first public school in St. John the Baptist Parish.

Books were hard to get. They weren't sold here.

We had to go to town¹² to get them. So we had to buy second hand books. School was held in an old, old house. The floor was so full of holes, we could easily have fallen through, but we were very careful. And we had school in this old house for several years, and after that we built a big public school, what we called big in that time, with several large rooms.

There was a little girl who came to this school. There wasn't enough room in the big building for the babies. So she was there. She didn't want to change building. She said to the teacher, 'I can't read today, but tomorrow I'll be able to read,' so that she could remain in the big building where we were. And so the teacher didn't send her with the babies, and I tell you, the next day, she came, and she could read the best in the whole class. And that was her first year of school."

VI C

The Healers

"I knew two female and two male healers. They treated erysipelas, strained ligaments, warts, moles, and weak wrists. They treated with leaves, green syrup, ground and browned flour, which were put on the erysipelas, and the leaves dried, and that cured it. I saw these healers cure warts. And I saw strained ligaments treated

¹²New Orleans.

this way also. I am not superstitious, but I saw that. Rheumatism was treated also, with an ointment of grated potatoes with coal oil and another secret ingredient which was never revealed, and this did some good.

I saw sores which wouldn't heal cured after the application of a salve of 'stink weeds' and goose grease after this was cooked."

VI D

The Healing Stone

"A white man in Vacherie (that part of Vacherie which is in St. John the Baptist Parish) was given a healing stone by an Indian. The Indian found this stone in the belly of a white deer. This stone, when placed on an abrasion or a cut or bite, sucked out the poison and then fell off. It was then placed in a glass of milk which purified it so that it could be used again. I know a young lady who made use of the stone after she was bitten by a black widow spider. The stone remained attached to her lip for three hours before it fell off. The stone was primarily used to treat mad-dog¹³bites. People who needed it traveled to Vacherie to use it. It still exists. It was once the size of a fifty-cent piece. It is much smaller now."

¹³And also snake bites.

VI E

A Vision

"When I was three years old, on my way to my aunt's house to sleep, at twilight, after my mother died, as I was going to open the yard gate, I looked back at our home which was directly behind my aunt's, and I saw there on the roof the most beautiful girl I had ever seen. She was dressed in white and with a blue sash at her waist, and she wore a brilliant crown which didn't touch her head. The next day at dinner I asked my father about this girl. He asked me if she was someone I knew. But I told him that it wasn't. Later, when I began to go to church, I recognized the beautiful girl. It was the Blessed Virgin whom I had seen."

VI FA Vision

"Another time, when I was on my way to my aunt's to sleep, again at twilight, I saw the Infant Jesus of Prague under the roof of the house. He was dressed in his little red coat, and he, also, wore a crown. We went to church at this time, but we didn't have an Infant Jesus of Prague in our church. It was many years later that someone gave the Infant Jesus to the church. It was only then that I knew whom I had seen."

VI G

The Rocking Chairs

"When I was ten years old, I used to hear the rockers in our bedroom rock. They rocked every night for years. Whenever I looked at them, they stopped rocking; but one night I saw one of them rocking. Whenever I blocked the rockers with a shoe or something, they didn't rock. It wasn't my imagination. They rocked."

VI HThe Twelve Days of Christmas

"Between Christmas and New Year's we used to have the Vigil of the Christians. People, masked, traveled about during the dark evening hours, and wherever they saw a light, they stopped. If you could guess who they were, they removed their masks and passed out candies to everyone."¹⁴

¹⁴This informant explained later about an elaborate masquerade in which she was the chief performer, a masked and shrouded corpse in a coffin carried about by other masquers. Their masquerade was a howling success as they succeeded in frightening many people before they were recognized, unmasked, and made to pay the forfeit in goodies.

CHAPTER III

PHONETIC ANALYSIS

Vowels

The vowels of this dialect are [i,I; e; ɛ,æ; a,ɑ; y; ø,œ; u,U; o,ɔ]. The nasal vowels are [ã,ɔ̃, œ̃, ẽ].

[i,I]

In a free or checked syllable, the sound is generally [i], as in dit [di], aussi [osi], qui [ki], rire [fir], fille [fi:j], il [il], arrive [ariv].

In either a free or a checked syllable [I] is likely to occur sporadically. In the speech of one informant one can hear either [must^sik] or [must^sIk] for moustique, [kɥizin] or [kɥizIn] for cuisine, [midi] or [ɪIdi] for midi; in another's speech [I] alternates with [i] in rire [rir, rIr]; in still another informant's speech the sound is always [i]. There does not seem to be any specific pattern of distribution for the variant sound [I] except in cases of English words used by the informants: Dickerson [dIkəsən], sister [sɪstə], string [stɪŋ], hundred [ʌndrɪd].

The occurrence of [I], although relatively infrequent, indicates the influence of the English language on the dialect of the informants.

One word, transcribed [syrpraIm], illustrates the extent of the English influence on the dialect of one informant, causing her to produce the diphthong [aI] which normally occurs in English, but not in French.

[e]

In open syllables [e] occurs, as in été [ete], avait [ave], fait [fe], sais [se], embrassez [ãbrase], raison [rezɔ̃], pressé [prese]; and also in closed syllables, as in resté [reste].

[ɛ, æ]

[ɛ] occurs in closed syllables, as in sel [sɛl], guêpe [gɛp], pêche [pɛʃ], soleil [solɛj], avec [avɛk], même [mɛm], herbe [ɛrb], appelle [apɛl].

It is also found in open syllable final; très [trɛ], and mais [mɛ].

[æ] occurs before [r] final, as in grand-père [grãpær], lumière [lymjær], militaire [militær].

[æ] occurs in the initial syllable of arrière [ærjær], probably by analogy with derrière [dærjær], in which it occurs in the initial open syllable.

In rapid, informal speech, the informants seemed to favor [æ] before [r] in any syllable.

[a,a]

[a] is used in open syllables, as in croit [krwa], la [la], sa [sa], voici [vwasi].

[a] is used in closed syllables, as in moustache [mustaʃ], Badoil [badwal], bal [bal], salle [sal], mal [mal].

[a] is used in open syllables, as in pourquoi [pukwa], poisson [pwasɔ̃], vois [vwa], roi [rwa], noir [nwa].

The informants differ in their preference when there is a choice of [a] or [ɑ] final, and [a] or [ɑ] in a final syllable closed by [r]. Some informants choose [a] in most syllables, sometimes, however, alternating their choice in the same word. All of the informants alternate the sounds. Some of them show a preference for the fronted sound, and some show a preference for the back vowel. There appears to be no phonemic significance in the choice of [a] or [ɑ].

Words like bras are either [bra] or [brɑ]; toi is alternately [twa] or [twa]. The back sound is used in the future tense verb form boira [bwara], but in the future tense form boirez [bware], the fronted sound is preferred.

[u,U]

The high back rounded vowel occurs in both open and closed syllables: nous [nu], tous [tu], toujours

[tužur], coursait¹[kuse], jour [žur], écoute [ekut].

[U] alternates sporadically with [u] in such words as aujourd'hui [ožUrɥi], pourquoi [pUkwa], jour [žUr], pour [pUr], and in English words requiring the high rounded back vowel, as in cook [kUk].

[o,ɔ]

In an open final syllable /o/ is usually [o], as in vos [vo]. beau [bo], morceau [mɔrsɔ], chapeau [ʃapo].

/au/ usually produces [o] as in aussi [osi], autour [otur], au [o]; but in autre it is [ɔtrə] or [ɔt].

/o/ before /z/ is usually [ɔ], as in chose [ʃɔz].

/o/ in checked final syllables not followed by /z/ is [ɔ], as in homme [ɔm], recolte [rəkɔl], robe [rɔb].

/o/ in unstressed positions not followed by /z/ is [ɔ], as in modiste [mɔd^zis], moment [mɔmɑ̃].

Remarks:

One of the informants shows a preference for [o] in checked final syllables: école [ekɔl], autre [ot], notre [not], but not in chose, which is [ʃɔz].²

In open syllables her preference is [o], as in estomac [estoma], donné [donɛ], and before [z] as in

¹See Note 3, page 4.

²Informant VI.

posé [poze].

The other informants use [o] before [z] in pose [poze], causer [koze], in open syllables, and also in open syllables not followed by [z], as in estomac [ɛstoma]; in aurait [ore]; but use [ɔ] in autre [ɔtre, ɔt]; école [ekɔl]; donné [done].

[y]

The sound is [y] wherever the spelling is /u/, except when /u/ is followed by /i/: cru [kry], plus [ply], foulure [fulyre]; but /u/plus/i/ in cuisine becomes [kɥizin].

[ø,œ]

In a free syllable generally the sound is [ø] as in vieux [vjø], amoureux [amurø], milieu [miljø].

In a checked syllable the sound is generally [œ] when the checking consonant is not [z], as in seigneur [senjøer], meilleur [mejœer], soeur [sœ:r], heure [œ:r].

Before [z] the sound is usually [œ], but Informant I uses [ø] before [z], as in bavardeuse [bavarðøz]; the others tend to use the open sound, as in danseuse [dansœz].

Unstable [ə]

Unstable [ə] in this dialect is pronounced wherever speakers of Standard French normally pronounce it in rapid speech. It is not pronounced in those environments where native speakers of Standard French do

not usually pronounce it in normal, rapid speech.

[ã, ɔ̃]

Before beginning specific notations on the nasal vowels, it seems necessary to mention several points about the production of nasals in this dialect. There is a tendency in this speech to produce all sounds with recognizable accuracy, but without the tenseness of prescriptive phonetic pedagogy. While distinction is made between similar sounds, as in the pairs [ã, ɔ̃], [œ, ɛ̃], these nasals are used interchangeably (within the range of the pairs) by the informants in the same words. There appears to be no way of determining if there is a real pattern of distribution for these changes because the informants sometimes use the same word in two consecutive utterances, using each time a different nasal sound. Here are some examples of these contrasts in the production of [ã] and [ɔ̃]: en [ã] or [ɔ̃], dans [dã] or [dɔ̃], maison [mezɔ̃] or [mɛzã], dansez [dãse] or [dɔ̃se]. This list is cited to show that the confusion does exist; however, it is not to be concluded then that the entire dialect is a confusion of phones. In general, the pattern of usage of nasals follows Standard French usage, except where variants are cited. Enumeration of the examples below of words used in this dialect shows the correspondence to usage of nasal vowels in Standard French:

<u>blanc</u>	[blã]	bon	[bɔ̃]
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parents	[parã]	son	[sɔ̃]
encore	[ãkɔr]	monde	[mɔ̃n]
avant	[avã]	zombi	[ʒɔ̃bi]
Jean	[ʒã]	cochon	[koʃɔ̃]

In a few cases, nasals were produced arbitrarily by one or another informant: donné [dɔ̃nɛ̃], commencé [kɔ̃mɔ̃se], connaissais [kɔ̃nese]. It is interesting to note that each informant shows a preference for either more or less tenseness in the production of these two nasals. They do not all indulge in the arbitrary production of nasal vowels.

[œ̃, ɛ̃]

When /un/ is final or before a consonant, the sound used is [œ̃], as in un [œ̃], and lundi [lœ̃di].

An example of the interchange of [œ̃] and [ɛ̃] is un, which is usually [œ̃], but sometimes [ɛ̃].

[ɛ̃] occurs as follows: /in/ final or before a consonant, as in invité [ɛ̃vite], fin [fɛ̃], linge [lɛ̃ʒ]; /ain/ final or before a consonant, as in demain [dɛ̃mɛ̃], saint [sɛ̃]; /ein/ final, as in plein [plɛ̃]; /ien/ endings and /ien/ forms of venir, as in souviens [suvjɛ̃], bien [bjɛ̃], viens [vjɛ̃]; /oin/ final, as in loin [lwɛ̃].

Remarks:

Listed below are a few examples of the generation of nasal vowels:

1. /em/ before a vowel: même [mɛ̃m]
2. /ain/ before a vowel: certaine [sɛ̃rtɛ̃n]

3. after /nn/ followed by [e]: année anɛ],
donné [dɔ̃nɛ].

Semi-vowels

The semi-vowels are [j,u,w]. Their use exactly parallels that of Standard French.

Consonants

There are several notable differences in the consonants of this dialect as compared with Standard French; therefore discussion of consonants will be limited to these differences. Below is a list of these sounds and a description of each:

Nasal:	[ŋ], lingua-velar (English), voiced
Laterals:	[ɭ], lingua-velar (English), voiced
	[lj], (<u>mouillé</u>) lingua-palatal, voiced
Trill:	[r], apico-alveolar (sometimes dental), voiced
Fricative:	[θ], apico-dental, voiceless
Affricates:	[t ^s], lingua-dental, voiceless
	[d ^z], lingua-dental, voiced
	[ŋ]

The velar nasal of English [ŋ] sometimes occurs before /g/, as in langue [lãŋ].³ In one informant's speech, the palatal nasal [ɲ] becomes [nj] in seigneur [senjœr].

³[lãŋ] was not included in the list on Pp. 53,54 because the environment is not Standard French.

[ɫ,ɫj]

Lingua-velar [ɫ], or "dark [ɫ]" of English sometimes appears in final position, as in bal [baɫ]. It is not indicated in the transcription of the texts because it occurs rarely and probably as a result of speaking under stress and without dentures.

The [ɫj], or [ɫ] mouillé, is probably a result of the same difficulty noted above, but it occurs in the speech of a different informant: meilleur [mɛɫjœr] is substituted for [mɛjœr]. This sound was transcribed as heard because it is distinct and occurs more than once in such a manner as to suggest that there is a strong possibility that it is not unusual to this informant.

[r]

The [r] of this dialect is an apico-alveolar trill. The occurrence of [R], used to indicate both the retroflex and the fricative of English, is not significant, since it appears only in the context of sounds used in the production of the few English words used by the informants. Its use is not indicated in transcription.

[θ]

The apico-dental fricative of English, [θ], is produced initially in a word in the place of the initial [t] when the consonant group [tr] occurs before [u, wa, wa] and sometimes [e]. All of the informants were more

or less consistent in its production, as in trou [ɛru], trois [ɛrwa, ɛrwa], traiteuse [ɛretæ:z], and others.

[t^s, d^z]

Two affricates are regularly used when the occlusives [t, d] occur before [i, y]. They are the voiceless [t^s] and the voiced [d^z], lingua-dental sounds, transcribed with the superscripts [s, z] to indicate their difference from the English [tʃ] and [dʒ] which are lingua-palatal. Examples of these sounds are tu [t^sy], petit [pɛt^si], dit [d^zi], mordu [mɔrd^zy].

Syllabication

Syllabication in this dialect follows the Standard French usage.

Breath Groups, Accents, and Stress Groups

In this dialect these phenomena follow the pattern of Standard French usage, with the exception that the stress groups are, in general, quite short, and thereby produce a larger number of stress groups to the breath group.

Lengthening

The occurrences of lengthening in this dialect are indicated in the transcription by the use of [:], and indicate that in this dialect, lengthening is not used according to the usage of Standard French.

Union of Consonants and Vowels

Linking:

Linking in this dialect follows Standard French

usage.

Liaison:

In this dialect liaison occurs as it does in the rapid colloquial speech of native speakers of French.

Union of two Consonants

Assimilation:

Two consecutive sounds tend to assimilate. One borrows a part of the character of the other to facilitate a quick change of the organs of articulation.

1. The ne of the ne...pas combination has a tendency to disappear almost entirely from rapid, informal speech. The assimilation is probably historical and probably is a residual effect of the assimilation which may have occurred before verbs when ne became a weak, unaccented element.
2. From one word to another the assimilation is partial, since the consonant doesn't change, but becomes partially voiced. An example of this phenomenon in this dialect is that of [s] to [s̥], as in espèce de malice [ɛspɛs̥ də malis].
3. Modification of lingual and velar consonants before palatals takes place in langue [lɑ̃:g], which becomes [lɑ̃ŋ].
4. Nasalization of a vowel before a nasal consonant is frequent, as in même [mɛ̃m] which

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4. Nasalization of a vowel before a nasal consonant is frequent, as in même [mɛ̃m] which

becomes [mɛ̃m], mama [mama] which becomes [mãmã].⁴

5. When a plosive in final position is preceded by a nasal consonant it simply changes to a nasal: [mɔ̃n] for monde [mɔ̃d], tombe [tɔ̃:b] becomes [tɔ̃m], lendemain [lãdmɛ̃] becomes [lãnmɛ̃], grande maison [grãtmezɔ̃] becomes [grãnmezɔ̃].

Union of two Vowels

Elision:

Elision is the disappearance of a sound in certain combinations.

1. In this dialect the usage of the unstable [ə] corresponds to that of Standard French.
2. In familiar language the [l] of elle and the [r] of sur elide regularly before a consonant, as in elle dit [ɛ di], sur le banc [sy l bã], and the [r] of pour in pour vous [pu vu].

Sporadic Phenomena

Apocope

The loss of the final consonant in a final consonant group is regular, as in entre [ãt], autre [ɔt], table [tab], modiste [mɔd^zis].

⁴See Pp. 54,55.

Syncope

Elimination of medial sounds occurs in some words like là dedans [la d:ã].

Initial, medial, and final complex clusters are habitually simplified, as in pourquoi [pukwa], parce que [pas kə], quatre grande fille [kat grãn fi:j].

Metathesis

Breaking up of sound clusters by prefixing a vowel occurs in recevrait [ərsevr

Displacement of syllabic boundaries

This phenomenon is formed by attaching the final sound of one word to the beginning of another word. In the following examples, to be found in this dialect, the sound attached to the following word is the voiced sibilant. The voicing of the sibilant occurs in normal speech as liaison in Standard French and in this dialect, but not in certain environments. Note: les yeux, usually [lez jø] is [le zjø] in this dialect.⁵ Des oies [dez wa] becomes [de zwa], des orteils, usually [dez ɔrts:j] becomes [de zɔrts:j].

Aspirate /h/

In this dialect /h/ is not pronounced, but liaison is often made with aspirate /h/. Les haricots can be either [le ariko] or [lez ariko].

⁵In this dialect, although no examples are to be found in the corpus, one regularly hears un yeux [œ zjø], un oie [œ zwa], un orteil [œ zɔrts:j].

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The regional French dialect spoken in Reserve is a consistent variety of cultured speech native to the community, but which (together with other dialects of Louisiana French) has an extremely short expectancy of life. It has survived among the senior citizens of the geographical area which can be considered a relic area for the purposes of this study.

The phonetic analysis indicates that the French spoken in Reserve is a regional dialect corresponding with Standard French in intonation patterns, stress groups and accentuation, syllabication, linking, liaison, elision, phonology (with variants), morphology (with variants), and syntax.¹

In this dialect the apico-alveolar trilled r is used in preference to the velar trill of Standard French. Its production is smooth and melodic. Where English

¹Morphological and syntactical analysis is outside the scope of this study, but the tapes and transcription readily substantiate this statement. The complete correspondence of this dialect (exclusive of the variants) with Standard French require that this observation be made.

loan-words occur in the dialect, the English retroflex is employed.²

The English vowel [ɪ] sometimes occurs in the place of the French [i]. It usually occurs in the production of English words, and only sporadically in the French words.³

The English vowel [ʊ] occurs sporadically and alternates with the French high back rounded vowel [u] in both open and closed syllables.⁴

Five English consonants are consistently used in this dialect: the lingua-velar nasal [ŋ], the lingua-velar, or "dark" [ɫ], the apico-dental voiceless fricative [θ], the lingua-dental voiceless affricate [tʰ], and the lingua-dental voiced affricate [dʒ].

In nearly all cases the velar nasal [ŋ] of English is substituted for the palatal [ɲ] of French. It is used in words like langue where the Standard French pronunciation is [lɑ̃:g] rather than [lɑ̃ɲ]. This substitution is regular.⁵

The lingua-velar [ɫ] of English occurs in final position. It does not occur regularly; therefore, its occurrence is not significant.⁶ It is, however, a deviation from the norm when it occurs.

²See p. 56. ³See p.48. ⁴See Pp. 50, 51.

⁵See p. 55. ⁶See p. 56.

Regularly, wherever the consonant group /tr/ occurs, the sound produced is the English apico-dental voiceless fricative [θ] for the voiceless dental plosive [t].⁷

The apico-dental voiceless affricate [t^s] is regularly substituted for the voiceless occlusive [t] before [i,y].⁸

The voiced English apico-dental affricate [d^z] regularly replaces the voiced dental occlusive [d] before [i,y].⁹

In this dialect the use of the French rounded back vowel [o] follows the general Standard French pattern of distribution except in final syllables checked by /z/, when it is [ɔ].¹⁰

There is an inconsistent discrimination between similar nasal vowels. In the use of the pair [ã,ɔ̃] the same speaker may pronounce en as [ã] or [ɔ̃]; dans as [dã] or [dɔ̃].¹¹

The generation of nasal vowels occurs often, particularly when /em/ or /ain/ occur before a vowel, and after /nn/ followed by [e].¹²

The use of the ne element of the ne...pas combination is inconsistent.¹³

Regressive assimilation of a plosive in final

⁷See p. 56. ⁸See p. 57. ⁹See p. 57.

¹⁰See Pp. 51,52. ¹¹See Pp. 53,54 ¹²See p. 54.

¹³See p. 58

position preceded by a nasal occurs regularly in this dialect.¹⁴

The loss of the final consonant in a final consonant group is regular.¹⁵ The elimination of medial sounds occurs in some words.¹⁶

Displacement of syllabic boundaries in some environments is habitual.¹⁷

The aspirate h is not pronounced, but liaison is sometimes made.¹⁸

This dialect and Standard French are mutually intelligible. The life expectancy of the dialect spoken in Reserve is short since most of the grandchildren of the native speakers no longer either understand or speak it.

Some unanswered questions that have occurred during this undertaking, but which require research beyond the scope of this study are enumerated below:

1. Why did the German language disappear entirely from the area?
2. Are the variants from Standard French in this dialect a result of historical change outside the region of investigation?
3. Is this dialect a relic of the language of the Capuchin missionaries who ministered to

¹⁴See Pp. 58,59. ¹⁵See p. 59. ¹⁶See p. 60.

¹⁷See p. 60. ¹⁸See p. 60.

the area?

4. Are the variants from Standard French really "errors," and if they are, when did they begin?
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APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE INFORMANTS

I

Wallace Lasseigne, 83, retired founder and editor of L'Observateur, distinguished journalist and gentleman, lives with his widowed daughter, Mrs. Leslie Mabile, in a modern, spacious brick home in Reserve. He has been a widower for eight years. His numerous children and grandchildren derive enormous pleasure from his beautifully told reminiscences of a life which has truly been spent as "the observer." He followed in his father's footsteps when he founded L'Observateur. He had grown up under the influence of journalism and printing because Charles Lasseigne, his father, first founded La Ruche Louisianaise, then bought Le Meschacébé, which, under him, was for forty years one of the finest newspapers of the country. It was printed in French. L'Observateur was ably edited in French, patois, and English, and was a credit to the cultural, social, and political life of St. John the Baptist Parish. Mr. Lasseigne was educated in the private schools in Reserve. He was instructed in French. When he arrived on the

campus of the technological institute at Ruston, barely seventeen, he spoke not a word of English. His second year of college was spent at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, but he didn't like the uniform and military drills, so he returned to Ruston to complete his education in printing and journalism. He is fluent in both French and English, as well as in the patois.

II

Mrs. Anna Vicknair Jacob, 83, born on March 4, 1882, became the wife of Annas Jacob in 1901. She was left a widow when her husband died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1905, leaving her with a small child to support. Anna is a fourth generation Jacob, descendant of Jean Baptiste Jacob, and her husband was a third generation Jacob. Her maternal grandmother died in childbirth, so her mother was wet-nursed by a neighbor's slave. This slave was paid thirty dollars a month for her services. A yellow fever and a cholera epidemic during this time made severe inroads into the family, and bringing up a motherless infant was quite a problem, one likely to be talked about and much discussed.

Mrs. Vicknair completed five years of schooling in the public school system.

During her widowhood she supported herself and her infant son by sewing and nursing. Her work and her curiosity early developed her native talent as a raconteuse.

She is a reliable source for historical and cultural memorabilia. It has been said that Anna could sit on the sidelines of the local ballroom on a Sunday night and recount correctly the genealogies of all of the young ladies and gentlemen present.

She had a happy and active childhood, and still remembers some of the many songs, games, and social customs of the time. She lives in the house where she was born, in Jacobtown (part of Reserve), and which, until a few years ago was always beautifully landscaped with colorful flowers and shrubs. She was a familiar sight in her large front yard, tending her flowers and pausing a moment to speak to passersby. Her recently developed semi-invalid state is onerous to one whose life has been so active and so much a part of the history of Reserve.

III

Mrs. Stella Jacob Jacob, 73, was born on February 2, 1892. She married George Jacob forty-nine years ago, at the age of twenty-four. Mr. Jacob, 77, is retired from his position as House Mechanic for the Godchaux Refinery in Reserve. They live an active life in their beautifully kept and spacious homestead in Reserve where their seven children were born, and where six of them grew to adulthood. All of their children are married. There are fifteen grandchildren at last count. Mrs. Jacob attended

a private school for five years. She was taught in English by Miss Ella Levet and Elmena Voisin. She taught herself to read French.

IV

Mrs. Edith Englade Triche, 65, was married to Maurice Triche at the age of twenty-three. They have four married children and sixteen grandchildren. She was educated in the public schools of St. John the Baptist Parish through the tenth grade. She and her husband live in Reserve near Belle Pointe in their lovely home, surrounded by trees, flowers, and foliage tended with loving care on their extensive acreage.

V

Maurice Triche, 70, retired bon vivant and entrepreneur, is happy tending his chicken farm and attending to his various enterprises which always seem to be complicating his life. Mr. Triche has always led a very busy life in the community. He attended public school for seven years.

VI

Mrs. Carmen Jacob Klibert, 65, wife of Raoul Zlibert, was born on May 30, 1899. She is the great-granddaughter of Pierre Daspit, duc de St. Amant of France, and the great-granddaughter of Jean Baptiste Jacob

of Germany, who founded Jacobtown. She attended private school in Reserve where she was instructed in English, and later attended the first public school established in Reserve. She was valedictorian of the eighth high school class to be graduated from Leon Godchaux High School. Her father considered higher education for a female a fearful waste of time and money, so she married Raoul. Their five children have presented them with twenty grandchildren at this writing, and four step-grandchildren.

Mrs. Klibert's mother died when she was three. She lived with her grandmother until she was nine. After that she spent much time first with one relative and then another until she was old enough to keep house for her father. Thus, she became thoroughly familiar with most of the stories, customs, fun and games, and ways of life of the community. She was always active as a young lady in the social life of the community, and continued to be active after her marriage. She and Mr. Klibert live in the home which she designed and which they built together forty years ago.

VITA

Shirley Florence Klibert Nelson was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, on November 7, 1921. She grew up in Reserve, Louisiana, attended Leon Godchaux Grammar School and was graduated from Leon Godchaux High School in June of 1937. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Louisiana State University three years later, at the age of eighteen. Before beginning her teaching career, she completed a semester of graduate study in English at the University. During this time she held a reading fellowship at the university.

She taught at Annunciation High School in New Orleans for one year, leaving there to work in the Publications and Distribution Section of the Adjutant General's Office of the New Orleans Port of Embarkation.

On the first day of June 1943, she was married to Dale F. Nelson, and after the birth of their first child, she moved to California where the family made its home following the close of World War II. During their twelve years residence in southern California, six more children were born to her.

She was a member of the St. Emydius Parish Library, charged with the selection and review of books. She was

called upon quite regularly to give lectures on family life and to give book reviews. She was Library and Literature Chairman of the Eastern Deanery of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. She devoted much time and attention toward helping to establish private libraries in various church parishes in the Archdiocese.

She was an active participant in study groups and held a membership in the southern California chapter of the National Philosophical Society.

For two years she was Chancellor of the Ladies of Columbus, an auxiliary of the Cardinal Glennon Chapter of the Knights of Columbus.

She taught in the Los Angeles City School system until the family returned to Louisiana after the death of the youngest child.

Mrs. Nelson holds a Class A-1 Lifetime Teaching Certificate in the State of Louisiana. She has ten years of teaching experience. For the past six years she has taught high school English and French at Destrehan High School, Destrehan, Louisiana, Parish of St. Charles. Prior to this assignment, she taught English at Hahnville High School, Hahnville, also in St. Charles Parish.

In the summer of 1960 Mrs. Nelson was a participant in the NEA Foreign Language Institute held at Louisiana State University. She is at present on Sabbatical Leave and a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in Linguistics at Louisiana State University. She was awarded a research

assistantship in Linguistics for the academic year 1964-65.

While engaged in teaching, Mrs. Nelson has also been actively engaged in professional activities on the local, state, and national level. She is past-president of the St. Charles Parish Teachers Association, is presently chairman of the Committee on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, and a member of the publicity committee for the annual convention of the Louisiana Teachers' Association. She attended the Louisiana Teachers' Association Leadership Conference in August of 1963, and was invited in 1964 to participate in the Conference on Professional Rights and Responsibilities at the annual convention of the National Education Association.

She is a member of Phi Sigma Iota, Romance Language honor society.

Mrs. Nelson resides with her family in La Place, Louisiana.

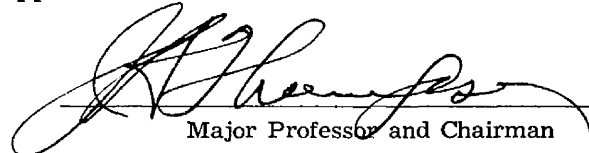
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Shirley Florence Klibert Nelson

Major Field: Linguistics

Title of Thesis: A Phonetic Study of the French Spoken in Reserve,
St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana.

Approved:


Major Professor and Chairman

Max Goodrich

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

William R. Van Liper

Ralph F. Carl

G. L. Shaver

Date of Examination:

July 1, 1965